1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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161 TABLE 1: THE POPULATION OF BALI PER REGION, 1930 AND 1954

Region	1954				1930	
	<10	10+	Total	Density (per square mile)	Total	Density (per square mile)
Buleleng	113,888	144,858	258,746	307	170,658	334
Jembrana	48,307	51,000	98,007	302	47,281	148
Tabanan	101,056	138,125	239,181	727	177,166	544
Badung	106,894	148,768	255,462	1,090	190,890	976
Gianyar	88,233	123,550	211,790	1,481	164,400	1,173
Bangli	52,067	54,873	107,040	583	138,006	490
Klungkung	52,552	64,570	117,122	881		
Karangasem	100,183	131,348	231,531	696	190,888	585
Bali	662,980	856,061	1,519,041	700	1,101,382	514

162 TABLE 2: THE POPULATION OF BALI PER POPULATION GROUP, 1920 AND 1930

Population Group	1920	1930
Indonesians	940,777	1,092,027
Chinese	3,446	7,609
Other non-Indonesian Asians	767	1,324
Europeans	243	405
Total	947,233	1,101,382

island's traditional religion) and the Balinese who have become Moslems, the 'Bali Islam'. The figures for the two in 1920 and 1930, and those for the non-Balinese Indonesian population of the island, are given in Table 3.

162 563 TABLE 3: ETHNO-RELIGIOUS BREAKDOWN OF INDONESIAN POPULATION GROUP ON BALI, 1920 AND 1930

Group	1920		1930	
	Number	%	Number	%
Bali Hindu	920,394	97.84	1,068,885	97.93
Bali Islam	13,027	1.38	16,992	1.56
Indonesians from elsewhere	7,356	0.78	12,160	1.11
Total	940,777	100.00	1,092,037	100.00

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As Table 4 shows, the region of Gianyar was far more than 99 per cent. Bali Hindu, while the figure for Jĕmbrana was less than 80 per cent. 162 563

TABLE 4: ETHNO-RELIGIOUS BREAKDOWN OF INDONESIAN POPULATION GROUP IN TWO BALINESE REGIONS, 1930

Group	Gianyar		Jembrana	
	Number	%	Number	%
Bali Hindu	163,351	98.87	37,069	79.55
Bali Islam	81	0.05	7,730	16.35
Indonesians from elsewhere	131	0.08	1,906	4.10
Total	165,563	100.00	46,719	100.00

The towns are of course less homogeneous than the countryside. This is in turn more true of Singaraja, the administrative seat and chief port, than of Den Pasar, as can be seen in Table 5. [369]

TABLE 5: ETHNO-RELIGIOUS BREAKDOWN OF INDONESIAN POPULATION GROUP IN TWO BALINESE TOWNS, 1930

Group	Singaraja		Den Pasar	
	Number	%	Number	%
Bali Hindu	6,009	67.04	14,026	92.31
Bali Islam	1,439	15.07	62	0.41
Indonesians from elsewhere	1,864	18.09	1,105	7.28
Total	10,302	100.00	15,193	100.00

There is no reason to assume that these general ratios have changed significantly since 1930, though the European group has grown smaller, the Bali Hindu group has lost some four thousand persons who were converted to Christianity, and the group of Indonesians from elsewehere (largely Moslems) has probably increased. With one exception, then, the percentages give an approximate impression of the present-day situation. The exception is Jĕmbrana, where the Bali-Hindu percentage has definitely increased as a result of transmigration from other parts of Bali. For reliable and accurate data on the present

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situation it will of course be necessary to wait until the next census.

3

Race, Origin, Language

The Balinese, like the large majority of the other inhabitants of Indonesia, are classified as Malays, who are usually included in the Palaeo-Mongolid sub-race.[8] In the sub-division into Early and Late Malays the Balinese belong to the latter group.

The ancestors of the Indonesians must originally have lived in what is now Yunan, in southwest China. Around 2000 B.C. they began to trek southwards from the mountains to the coast of Farther India, and roughly five hundred years later crossed over to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Bali, and to the other islands. When they settled on Bali is not known with any precision.[9]

The present-day languages of Indonesia are cognate, and together constitute the Indonesian language family. Inside that family there are several groups of more closely related languages. Balinese, together with the Sasakese of Lombok and the Sumbawanese of western Sumbawa, constitutes one such group.[10] In structure and syntax, then, it is more closely related to those languages than to Javanese. In the course of history,[11] however, Old Javanese (and, either directly or *via* Old Javanese, Sanskrit)[12] has had a great influence on the Balinese vocabulary, as regards not only terms for cultural elements borrowed, but also everyday terms. Hence the position of Balinese in the Indonesian language family is comparable to that of English in the Indo-Germanic family. English, too, is very closely related to the languages of one group, the Germanic, but in the course of history has been strongly influenced by Latin and French, two languages of another group, the Italic.

Balinese also has in common with Javanese its use of the so-called 'vocabularies of courtesy'.[13] The Balinese determines his choice of words according to the social relation between the

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for the concept of 'godhead' or 'deity'. That translation gives Widi a personal character, more so, perhaps, than is anchored in Balinese thought itself. Sometimes the terminology corresponds even more closely to that of Islam. It has been said, for example, that 'the One God Allah' is invoked at the lotus-seat in the household temple.

The fact that people on Bali are occupying themselves with this question of the oneness of Widi is probably not without connection to the present political situation. Bali is now a part of a state by far the most of whose inhabitants are Moslems. Hence the Balinese are a religious minority. That fact makes them sensitive regarding religious freedom, and again and again there are statements, in the press and elsewhere, that give them cause for concern. For example, it was said in a leading Indonesian weekly a few years ago that if the Moslems won the majority in parliament and the constituent assembly in the impending elections Indonesia could be made a Moslem state. The reaction from Bali was not long in coming. Its writer asked what was actually meant by the term 'Moslem state'. Was religious liberty to be abolished by a simple majority vote? The Moslems undoubtedly had the power to do so. Would they then force the followers of other religions to embrace Islam? The writer closed with an appeal to the love of their common fatherland, for which adherents of all the various religions had made sacrifices, and with praise for the wise policy of the government, which left everyone free in his religion.[9]

Around the same time the rumour circulated that the government would only allow religions which "have a prophet, have a holy book, and are generally recognized ..." In parliament a Balinese member then raised the question whence the government would derive the right to stipulate such conditions. These discussions prompted a Moslem writer to argue that an appeal to religious freedom and democracy would lead to religious anarchy. All sorts of wild sects were springing up; did the government have to tolerate that? And as far as Bali was concerned, its religion could not be considered as the 'Hindu-Buddhist religion', with

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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restored in 1934, after which the name was changed to Pura Pariang Wiswa Mapwa. People in the *desa* are of the opinion that the *pura* has an age of a hundred ninety *abads*, each *abad* now being considered as eighty years, though formerly the period was longer.

The village also possesses Jayaprana's compound and a gigantic rice-pounding block. Pura Prabu, at the southern boundary of the *desa*, is considered to be connected with the ruler or *prabu* who was responsible for Jayaprana's murder.

Even in the period before the war there must have been a plan in the *desa* for the cremation of Jayaprana. At that time the execution of the plan was prevented by the poverty of the *desa*, though *desa* members were convinced that a cremation festival would bring deliverance from their sufferings. The idea was kept alive by a number of tales about encounters with the spirit of Jayaprana. A grave was established for him shortly before the war: it lies in the place where he was murdered, in northwestern Bali.

Jayaprana had long wished to return to Kaliangĕt, and he conveyed his desire to the people by bringing about mysterious accidents. Moreover he brought blessings to the *desa*. There is a story, for instance, that a cloudburst which would not cease was brought under control by Jayaprana after the *desa* had promised to repair an offering platform in his temple. In difficult circumstances people often make such promises. And one finds offering platforms in a state of collapse in almost every temple.

THE BALIAN OF BAKUNG

Two miles to the south of Singaraja is the *desa* of Bakung. There lives a *balian* (a person who discharges a function in the religious services of the *desa* and in particular maintains contact with the gods) who in recent years has enjoyed great renown as a medium conjuring up the dead. The Chinese, especially, make use of his services, as through him they can converse with the dead person in Chinese, hear how he fares, and even settle current business with him.

The rumour of this *balian*'s fame reached the village elders of Kaliangĕt, and they paid three visits to him. The festival owed

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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to above reports that on 13 April, 1922, several members of the 467
desa of Pĕngyangan concluded an agreement with a tunnel-diggers' 312
association. The construction of tunnels stagnated owing to diffi- 474
culties in the lay of the land, and had not yet been completed at the end of 1931. At present the *subak* of Pĕngyangan has an area of more than forty hectares, or over a hundred acres, with exactly fifty landowners from whom a total of *f* 530 in landrent is due. Reportedly the following procedure was used in forming this *subak*. From the very beginning the *sĕdahan agung* and the *sĕdahan* concerned were involved in the matter, and they were constantly kept informed on the amount of yardage measured out by the tunnel-diggers. After the tunnel-diggers' association had reported which terrains might reasonably be expected to be irrigable, the owners of the gardens indicated joined together to form a *subak*.

Even more recent is the formation of the Sĕrangsang River *subak* (in the territory of the *desa* of Gumbrih), which is now twelve hectares or some thirty acres in size and numbers twenty-six landowners, while the landrent due amounts to *f* 110. The first *sawahs* date from around 1914; at that time seventeen persons joined together in a *subak* on the initiative of the village elder, who was later recognized by the Dutch authorities as *klihan*. Irrigation water was obtained by damming off the Sĕrangsang River, a ravine which is completely dry during the eastern monsoon. The water is carried to the *sawahs* through an open conduit *via* the coconut groves of Pulukan Plantation. Some difficulties are created by an irregularity in the lay of the land, which has made it necessary to construct an aqueduct. The conduit follows the crown of a dike, but the dike has not proved able to stand up against the pressure of the water.

II

Moslem Subak Members

Though there are no *subaks* in Jĕmbrana consisting entirely of 312
Moslems, there are associations here and there where their pro- 474
portion is fairly high. The *subak* of Yeh Anakan, in the vicinity of 563

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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312 Moslem settlement of Banyubiru, has the largest proportion of
474 Moslem members, sixty per cent. of the total. The board of the
563 *subak* contains the following functionaries: a *klihan subak* (Bali Islam), an assistant *klihan* (Bali Hindu), three criers (Bali Hindu), and three assistant criers (Bali Islam). It is noteworthy that the number of Bali-Hindu members of the *subak* board is relatively large, and that the important functions of crier are all filled by Bali Hindus. According to a statement of the *klihan subak* this must be attributed to the circumstance that the maintenance of the *subak* sanctuaries rests completely on the Bali-Hindu membership contingent. The services and levies for secular ends are the same for both categories of *subak* members. Religious obligations are fulfilled by each group according to the requirements of its faith, though in case a Bali Hindu has a Moslem sharecropper a half share is expected to be provided for the Balinese ritual.

Before any important task is undertaken and also after the harvest (at Pulukan before the cutting is begun) the Moslems hold a sacred repast, a *sĕlamatan sĕdĕkahan*, with rice, *kĕtipat* (rice steamed in coconut leaves), rice porridge, and pastry, at the work site, and either a mosque official, a religious teacher, or someone else who is familiar with the ritual recites a special prayer. A ritual prayer for a good crop is also sometimes held in the mosque. In case of a crop disease the *tolak balak* ceremony, literally 'the averting of misfortune', is held. Then every member takes a plaited bamboo mat containing *kĕtipat* and pastry to the *sawah*, where a special prayer is recited over these gifts. In times of sickness and disaster it is, in fact, also the custom to repeat this ritual in the open fields near the *desa*, and the *tolak balak* is performed for the benefit of dry-field farming as well. This Bali-Islam ceremony has points of correspondence with the Bali-Hindu festival of purification.

There is also a ritual prayer for rain in periods of prolonged drought. This *sĕmbahyangan istika* (recited in the Javanese way) takes place in the mosque after the Friday service and not in the open air, though on the same occasion Moslem members of the *subak* hold a *sĕlamatan sĕdĕkahan* by the weir. In the mosque owners

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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of dry fields and gardens take part in the ceremony along with the *sawah*-holders. The *sĕmbahyangan istika* is repeated every Friday until the rains come. It has happened several times that it was held at the request of the regional agricultural official to the *pĕnghulu*. (It should be mentioned that in earlier years the Pulukan agricultural official was a Moslem.) As a rule relations between the Bali-Hindu and Bali-Moslem members of the *subaks* leave nothing to be desired.

12

Irrigation and Landrent Levies

Under the agricultural official, or *sĕdahan agung*, for the region of Jĕmbrana, who is also the acting head of the regional landrent office at Nĕgara and assistant collector of revenues, are four *sĕdahans*, or lower officials, for the *sawahs* and two for the dry fields. The first category of officials are called *sĕdahan tĕmuku*, a designation which has to do with one of their chief tasks, supervising the distribution of irrigation water by means of distribution blocks (*tĕmukus*), while their fellow-officials for the dry fields (*tĕgalan*) and gardens (*abian*) are called *sĕdahan abian-tĕgal* after the nature of the lands under their jurisdiction. The territory over which a *sĕdahan* is placed, the *pĕsĕdahan*, is divided in *desas* in the case of dry lands, but the wet ricefields are organized in *subaks*.

The *sĕdahan agung* and the *sĕdahans tĕmuku* are concerned not only with the collection of taxes, but also with the *subak* system. When large-scale projects are to be taken up, or when there has been serious damage to the irrigation works of one or more *subaks*, the *sĕdahan agung* and his *sĕdahans* regulate the way in which the various *subaks* are to cooperate and to what extent other *subaks* are to lend their assistance. The *sĕdahan agung* also gives advice on irrigation problems and functions as a link between the *subak*, the Dutch authorities, and the relevant technical services. He moreover makes contact with the *desa* administrations in order to arrive at an effective arrangement for setting dates when statute labour and *desa* and *subak* services are to be rendered.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1938) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

it is assumed, antedates the introduction of the Hindu four caste system. The three top castes of the Hinduistic system, Brahmana, Satrya, and Vesya, maintain a feudal order of their own in the areas which they inhabit, referring to the rest of the population as *djaba*, outsiders.[1] At the time of the Dutch conquest in 1906 Bali was ruled by seven kings, called *radja* or *dalem*, who made war upon each other or formed alliances, whichever seemed more to their interest.

Up until the time of the Japanese conquest, in 1942, there had been almost no talk of the abolition of caste, and this only in the towns, Boeleleng and Den Pasar, where Javanese, Arabs, so called "Bombay" merchants, and the Chinese formed a mixed population. Today, contemporaneously with the friction in political circles centering in Java, there appears to carry through a certain continuity in the role of caste and its significance in the society. At the present time the head of the eastern division of the government, whose seat is in Macassar, Celebes, is a Balinese of the very highest princely rank, a *tjokorda;* a man who was educated in Holland, speaks Dutch and English perfectly, has a French wife, and was before the war the representative for Bali at the people's parliament, the *Volksraad*, at Batavia, Java.

The history of the relations of Bali with Java, and through Java with the rest of Indonesia, can be summed up as follows.

11*th century*. The century is marked by the first recorded intermarriage of the royal houses of Java and Bali. King Erlangga, famed in legend, was the son of a Javanese princess and a Balinese *radja*. Through his mother he inherited the Javanese kingdom of Kadiri, which afterward split. Sivaite and Buddhist priesthoods were strong at this time, and, according to legend, the holy men were able to cross over the narrow straits between Java and Bali "riding on a leaf." However this may be, it is clear that communications were established at this time.

14*th century*. The great kingdom of Madjapahit in Java included Bali. When this kingdom fell before the advance of the Mohammedans, refugees from the top level of the Javanese social structure crossed over to Bali. Priests, princes, courtiers, skilled artisans, artists, musicians, dancers, all the literate and the wise who could be saved, escaped to Bali and set up there the stronghold of Hinduism which has resisted Islamization and Christianization down to the present day. In Bali "Madjapahit" is a word to conjure with; everything which is traditionally held in high esteem is referred to as Madjapahit, or

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

triwangsă people (high caste, Brahman, Satryĕ, or Wĕsyă), and according to the prince in the palace at Tabanan, all those who are not of high caste are *salah*.

That is the end of this unusually full lontar regarding twins. Recently a case of twins born to Chinese people living in Bulĕlèng occasioned discussion of the various customs in the Balinese magazine Bhawanagara [1]). One author recommends the *adat* from Kabă-Kabă, Tabanan, as a good one to be followed, and quotes from a lontar originating there. The quotations are in modern Balinese, but must be taken either from the same lontar which I have summarized, or from a transcription of it, for it agrees on all points with the other text. Although not so full in directions for the ceremonies, the various differences in the births, with their special names, correspond — for one placenta, for a difference in time between the births, for the birth of the boy first, or the girl, for triplets of which two are boys, and triplets of which two are girls, and the same distinction between ordinary people and those of high caste birth. The lontar is very generous in the exemptions from *manak salah* which it allows. Firstly, all high caste people seem to be exempt, not only the king and the high priests as we found before. Then any birth which can be called "single", either because there is only one placenta, or because the children are born with an intervening time period, does not seem to require banishment. And of boy and girl twins, if the boy is born first, it is a good sign — although the last paragraph suggests that this does not hold good for Sudră's.

A Brahman scholar of Sanur made the following report after consulting the lontars of his Padandă:

If in Bali Sudră people have twins *manak salah*, it is called *bunching* when the girl is first and the boy comes after. This is said to threaten the safety of the country, and so the children

[1]) *Bhawanagara*, Tahoen III, No. 8 (1934). *Pertanja'an tentang adat*. p. 126 and *Indik Manak Salah*, p. 127.